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## INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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study entitled "Most Important Problems of the Present-Day Situation in the Polish People's Republic."

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2. The following topics are included in this study: changes in the system of planning and management of the national economy; agriculture; Sejm (Parliament), National councils, and cooperation of political parties; Polish United Workers Party; youth affairs; and relations between the church and state.

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THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT-DAY  
SITUATION IN THE POLISH PEOPLES' REPUBLIC.

1. Changes in the system of planning and management of the national economy.

The system of planning and management of the national economy which has been followed up till now was characterized by an excessive amount of centralism and by superfluous administrative methods of leadership.

This had as a consequence that every initiative was nipped in the bud and the productiveness of the respective enterprises decreased, and further, that the leading economic managers lost contact with the actual economic needs of the country. In connection with this, the changes in the system of planning and management went in the following directions:

- a) the maximum replacement of administrative decrees by economically justifiable measures; thus, all directives concerning planning must be kept to a minimum.
- b) a far-reaching independence of enterprises on a basis of economic accounting, however ~~with~~ with the provision that the government can step into the production process.
- c) the transfer of the right to make economic decisions to the national councils and to the economic branches of industry, organized by branch über branche georganiseerd.
- d) the attracting of workers toward an active ~~supervision~~ participation in the management of their own factories or enterprises, and the granting of greater powers to workers' self-management.

The most thorough-going changes were brought about in the agricultural and construction industry sectors of the economy. In changing the

management system of trade, a more cautious approach was taken. After these changes were completed, the following ~~guides~~ <sup>directives</sup> for planning in the respective sectors of the national economy became operative:

in industry: determination of the value of the production of goods, and their selling price; the size of the payment funds for the employees; the margin of profit; the amount of the contribution to the state budget; the quantitative production of the most important types of products; the number of the centralized investment companies.

in agriculture: the general investment limit; payment funds (concerns PGR -- state agricultural enterprises); size of the allocations of artificial fertilizer; tractors; agricultural machinery and construction materials; contributions to the state budget, and amount of deliveries to the state (concerns PGR), ~~guides~~ <sup>directives</sup> respectively. All other ~~guides~~ are intended exclusively as economic guides.

in the construction industry: contributions to the state budget; payments for the benefit of higher "master organizations" (district managements of the industries); the limit of the centralized investment sums.

in trade: there are only two directives which are obligatory -- the limit of the payment funds for the ~~working~~ <sup>employed</sup> workers (in a percentage relationship to the general turnover), and the limit of the centralized investment sums.

The central distribution plan for the allocation of materials was now limited to 22 raw materials and basic materials. In order to awaken the

interest of the workers in the economic progress of their respective factories or enterprises, the possibility was created of setting up ample "enterprise funds" which are closely connected with the financial results of the enterprise. These enterprise funds existed previously, but they were too small to act as an economic incentive for the workers.

Also, some prices underwent a re-evaluation to a certain degree, so that they could approach the normal economic laws of free price forming. We have not yet carried out a thorough-going revision of prices, because such a step demands a careful preparation and moreover, a sufficient reserve of consumer goods must be formed in order to prevent a far-reaching redistribution of the national income taking place.

The greater independence of the industrial enterprises is expressed in a series of powers granted to these enterprises. The extent of these powers is fitted to the nature of the enterprise. Now, the enterprise itself must draft its own monthly, quarterly, and yearly plans in the fields of technical, commercial, and financial management, whereby it must take into consideration its order-backlog, market analysis, etc., etc. This planning ~~must~~ will be based on a few directives.

The enterprise itself determines its internal division of work, its technical production process, its prototypes, and its "constructieschema's" engineering drawings (with the exception of those which are reserved to a higher authority). The enterprise ~~must~~ may set up its own laboratories, construction technical bureaus, ~~design~~ sections, and if necessary its own drafting and assembly bureaus. The enterprise has charge over its entire amortization sums, with this provision, that the higher managing authorities can have a portion of this sum frozen in the bank account or can allocate a portion of

it to another enterprise. Further, an enterprise is permitted to make its own investments (decentralized investments), both by means of devoting part of its profit for this, and by taking up normal bank credits. It must determine its own "enterprise means" and, if necessary, supplement these by taking up bank credits.

With permission of higher authorities, the enterprise may also deliver its manufactured goods directly to retail trade, or distribute these goods via its own sales organizations. Naturally, this method of trade must remain justifiable from an economic standpoint. As concerns prices, the enterprise itself may determine these insofar as these do not come under a price control, over which higher organs of management exercise supervision.

The enterprise also determines independently the number of ~~workers~~ employees considered necessary, as well as the system of wages (in accordance with the collective workers' agreement). It also determines independently the work norms.

Of the more important powers of the workers' self-management, the following must be named: the judging reviewing of the directives for the drafting of plans, and the determining of the work process before these are presented to higher management organs for ratification; the ratification of the yearly, quarterly, and monthly production plans, within the framework of the enterprise; the ratification of each change in the organizational structure of the enterprise, and the forming of internal regulations, taking into consideration the powers of the trade unions and the regulations in force; the ratification of the proposals of the management concerning decentralized investments; the deciding as to social provisions within the framework of the enterprise; the studying and judging reviewing of the

management reports concerning the leadership and financial results of the enterprise, after these are approved by higher management organs; the dividing of the enterprise funds; the deciding as to the sale of superfluous machines and inventories; and the deciding as to starting production of a by-product. <sup>mm</sup>

These powers were brought to realization by the workers through the self-chosen workers' councils. Now, a portion of the powers of the workers' councils will be taken over by the Conference of the Workers' Self-Management.

The new possibilities of development which were now created for caused changes industrial enterprises have ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ in the central administration to be necessary. Already in preparation, and shortly to come into being are: "bedrijfschappen" [literally: "enterpriseships"], "productschappen" [productships], also in connection with the provinces [i.e., both on a national and provincial level?], and cooperative associations. These will have the task of representing the various branches of the economic life ~~xxxxxxxx~~ vis-a-vis the economic management organs of the state. They will receive the necessary powers to be able to do this, as well as to be able to make decisions in their fields of the national economy. All enterprises are obliged to become affiliated with ~~xxxx~~ their respective "enterpriseships" or "productships". The "enterpriseships" and "productships" will be set up by decree of the Council of Ministers and will be headed by directors named by the respective ministers. These bodies will also have a "college" formed by the directors of all the enterprises affiliated with the "enterpriseship" or "productship". This college will have an advisory function only. Economic-technical advice

councils can be formed in these "enterpriseships" and "productships", independently of the college, and these councils will also have an advisory function only. They will be confronted chiefly with problems which call for study and which have an effect on a long-range basis. Scholars, scientific theoreticians and practical scientists, and economic specialists entrusted with local problems can be named to these advice councils, as well as representatives of the trade unions.

The "enterpriseships" and "productships" will be financed by the enterprises subordinate to them. The field of activity and the powers of these bodies are: the working out of long-range plans for the respective economic branches, ~~with~~ looking ahead for years; determining the nature of specialization of the various enterprises; exercising supervision of the execution of the economic plans ~~executed~~ given the branch by the National Plan for Economic Development; the collecting and re-distributing of the financial means; accounting with the state budget; putting forward responsible proposals for decentralized investing and coordinating of decentralized investing, either of a collective character or from the means of the "enterpriseships" ~~and~~ or "productships" themselves; the taking of initiative in organizing of scientific research work; in necessary cases, the organizing of joint purchasing and sales; the developing of proposals concerning the prices policy and the determining of prices ~~independently~~ in their own field, insofar as these are not in conflict with the general rules in force; putting forward proposals concerning the founding and liquidation of enterprises.

On the basis of the above-sketched independence of the enterprises and the powers of the "enterpriseships" and "productships", the outlines of the future Ministry of Economic Affairs are clearly drawn. From the role of

operative leader of the respective branches of the national economy, the Ministry must transfer to the role of executor of the economic policy of the government on its own terrain.

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2. Agriculture.

During the last two years, [redacted] carried out ~~xxxxxx~~ various changes speed up in the agricultural policy in order to ~~xxxxxx~~ the increase in agricultural production of the "boerenbedrijven" [farm enterprises], which comprise 90% of the cultivated land.

burdens  
The ~~xxxxx~~ born by the rural areas were reduced by doing away with the compulsory milk deliveries to the state, and by setting a higher and uniform price for milk. The compulsory grain deliveries from the farm enterprises to the state were reduced 1/3, compared with 1956 (farm enterprises having up to 2 hectares of land were completely released from the compulsory deliveries). The prices for the compulsory deliveries were increased 100%, and at the same time more favorable prices were set for wool, hides, and young ~~king~~ slaughtering cattle. The prices, up till now unremunerative, for agricultural machines, fertilizers, and investment goods for rural areas, also went up.

Because of the reduction of the burdens of the rural areas and the new zloty; prices policy, the income of the rural population increased 1.3 billion, moreover, it increased another 5 billion zloty because of the quantitative and qualitative improvement of the general agricultural production in 1957. The income of the rural population increased, thus, a total of 6.3 million zloty in the past year. This must be viewed as an important step forward on the way toward an equal exchange of goods between the state and the rural areas.

The Sejm (Lower House) has regulated the property relationships in the

rural areas by accepting a series of bills. The reorganization of forms of management and methods of leadership in agriculture had begun; the powers of the National Councils have been increased in respect to having disposal over the financial means for the development of agriculture, and the management of the agricultural-electrification enterprises, land improvement institutes, and the "POM" /?/ have been transferred to them. The agronomy service was transferred to the "farmers' circles" -- a series of organizations of social and agricultural skills character -- and also even the power to close contracts concerning crops and cattle.

The state agricultural administration apparatus was reduced (at the Ministry of Agriculture by 1,500 employees, i.e., 50%, and in the "outside services" by 12,000 employees). The average increase in total agricultural production in the whole country ~~in 1956~~ amounted to 4% over 1956. The grain harvest, the highest since the war, amounted to 15 q per hectare; the harvest of sugar beets -- 225 q per hectare. The amount of cattle has grown significantly. ~~were purchased~~ In 1957, 18.6% more slaughtering cattle and 29.9% more milk/~~xxxxxx~~ than in 1956. In the first quarter of 1958, 100,000 more tons of slaughtering cattle and 200 million liters more milk were purchased in comparison with the first quarter of 1957.

Further, an important increase of investing by the farmers in agricultural enterprises is to be observed, and the requests/for granting of investment credits also rose noticeably. The phenomenon of the agricultural enterprises -- which were allotted to the farmers by the agrarian reform -- being left in the lurch /neglected, etc./ by the farmers has disappeared.

The economic situation of the rural areas has improved noticeably. In connection with the changes in agrarian policy, there has come a more lively

interest in the problems of increasing production and cooperation. Attempts have been made by capitalistic elements to concentrate the means of help, which the state makes available, in their own hands; this happened, for example, with the agricultural machinery. However, these attempts are meeting more and more a decided opposition of the small and average farmers. The government policy supports these views and initiatives of the farmers, and furthers the creation and development of every form of cooperative and self-management.

The "farmers' circles" are growing and developing favorably. As of 1 March 1958 there existed 13,156 "circles", comprising 340,000 agricultural enterprises, that is, more than 11% ~~of~~ of the total number of all agricultural enterprises.

Also developing favorably are all forms of agrarian cooperatives in the field of procurement and sales, production and ~~fixation~~ /stock or crop/ improvement, and of granting of agricultural credits. The CRS [?] numbers 3.7 million members, the savings and loan banks (cooperatives) numbers 1.2 million members, and the dairy and gardening cooperative which was reactivated in 1957 numbers 378,000 members. In the field of production and improvement we now have about 1,800 cooperatives, that is, 17% of the "stand" [situation, condition, state, standing, class, etc.] as of 30 September 1956. In 1957, ~~there were~~ 309 cooperatives ~~which~~ were reactivated, and 14 were reactivated during January of the present year. Moreover, in the same time 78 new production cooperatives were created, and namely in ~~the~~ ~~small~~ ~~independent~~ villages where up till now no production cooperatives existed. The production cooperatives attained a higher average grain harvest in 1957 than independent farm enterprises, namely 17.1 q per hectare.

The majority of the production cooperatives are overcoming the difficulties which up till now have retarded their development. This is taking place, among other ways, by attempting to change the statutes so that they meet the wishes of the majority of the members. These changes are generally in the following directions: breaking with the stiff principle of allotting a definite area of 10-15 ares around the dwelling; increasing the minimum of working days in the "collective working community" from 100 to 200-250 days per year; attempts of various cooperatives to introduce old age benefits for the members in the future; guaranteeing sick leaves, etc., etc.

The relations between the members of cooperatives and the independently working farmers have also improved considerably of late. We are also re-organizing the "PGR's", so that gradually all production enterprises will go over to a complete accounting basis according to economic principles. In connection with this, the PGR management groups are being liquidated, and in their place 175 inspection bureaus have been set up, numbering a total of 2,600 employees. The experience gained from about 2,500 agricultural enterprises which are working on a complete accounting basis shows that this is the correct method of economic management, and that in this manner the interest of the state as well as of the workers of the PGR are best served.

A portion of the farm lands which ~~xxx~~ is not suitable to be cultivated by the PGR (too small an area) will be sold or rented, and those lands which it does not pay to cultivate will be forested.

### 3. Sejm, National Councils, Cooperation of the Political Parties.

In the newly elected Sejm (Lower House) of the Polish People's' Republic there is a total of 458 representatives, of which 237 belong to the PZPR, 118 to the ZSL, 39 to the SD, and 64 are without Party. As one of the merits

of this Sejm during the past year must undoubtedly be counted the new form of working and acting.

A much greater activity of the Lower House committees is to be observed and also the individual initiative of the representatives has increased noticeably, although the government/still remained the most important initiative-taker in the legislative field. Very much attention is being given to the work of the representatives in their electoral districts, as well as to the cooperation between representatives of different parties who come from the same district. Meetings between the representatives and their electors are being put into practice more and more. The international contacts of the Polish Inter-parliamentary Union and the Presidium of the Sejm were broadened. The Sejm accepted a series of laws, among which was the law establishing the "Algemene Rekenkamer" [General Auditing Office?]. This law will give the Sejm the possibility of checking on the total state apparatus. Through this means, the leading role of the Sejm vis-a-vis other state organs will be underscored and strengthened. In January of the current year the Sejm accepted the law concerning the National Councils ~~komisji~~ (N.C.), whose powers are defined by this law. This law broadened and confirmed the competencies and independence of these Councils. Their power of exercising supervision guarantees the realization of one political line in the state.

The new electoral system for the N.C. stipulates that the number of candidates for Council members must be greater than the number of seats allotted to an electoral district. It determines, further, the procedure by which a Council member can have his mandate taken away by the voters, and also the introducing of new industrial electoral districts.

The total number of ~~the~~ council members of the "step-wise" built up N.C. is 203,024, of which 158,996 council members, that is to say, 78.2%, have a seat in the lowest category of N.C., that is, villages and settlements of colonists.

Viewed politically, the council members are divided among the following parties: PZPR - 40.4%; ZSL - 21.1%; SD - 1.6%; Partyless - 36.9%. In the provincial N.C. (WRN), the ~~total~~ number of members of the PZPR is 50.8%; in the Municipal N.C. (MRN) (large cities) - 56.3%; in the DRN - 59%; in the MRN (average size cities) - 58.3%; in the PRN (P = powiat (district)) - 51.3%; in the MRN (small cities) - 52.3%; and in the GRN (G = gmina (village)) and "Osiedlowe R.N." (settlements) - 37%.

The economic sphere of influence of the National Councils was broadened to an important degree. The agricultural questions in their entirety were transferred to the leadership of the N.C. The same thing took place with retail trade, and with wholesale trade in the field of food products and industrial goods, with the exception of the inter-provincial supply forming.

In the field of communications, the following are subordinate to the N.C.: PKS, construction and maintenance of roads, with the exception of roads of special significance.

The entire living quarters construction, with the exception of government construction [*i.e.*, gov't offices construction?], is now in the hands of the N.C. Also, education and health questions are now handled by the N.C. Further, a series of enterprises from small industry and food products industry, together with construction materials, will be transferred to the N.C. In 1956, the investment plans of the N.C. amounted to 12% of the total investment plan of the country; in 1957 - 22%; and in 1958 - 24%.

The N.C. have also received various new sources of income, among others, taxes from cooperatives, from non-nationalized enterprises, land tax, and a share of the turnover /sales/ tax from some state enterprises at the cost of the state budget. In connection with this, the financial support of the state to cover the expenses of the N.C. will decrease significantly. ~~XXXXXX~~ Thus, these donations amounted to 31% of the total budget of the N.C. in 1958, compared with 63% in 1957, and 80% in 1956. Up till 1957, the economic directives for the N.C. were determined "higher up" and contained at a certain moment more than 1,000 regulations. The economic activity of the N.C. was completely ham-strung by this.

For the year 1958, the N.C. could draft their economic plans independently, being bound by only 5 general directives, namely: the total investment limit for construction industry per WRN; the total investment limit for living quarters construction and ~~XXXXXX~~ renovation; the payment funds for enterprises in their field; the production figures for bricks in their field; and the extent of procurement of transport material for communal use.

The process of democratization of the society and decentralization of the economy brings thousands of people from the masses to take an active part in the leadership of our country. An important link in this process is formed by the Mutual Cooperation Committees of the political parties. These Committees are the initiative takers of the joint consultations of the "activists" of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD. At these get-togethers the standpoints of our Party, of the ZSL and SD can be brought closer to each other, and better forms and methods of cooperation can be sought, ~~XXXXXX~~ the leading role of our Party in the building up of socialism must be understood and recognized /at these get-togethers/.

This cooperation is being strengthened in the common struggle against rightist and clerical elements who are still busy trying to influence certain offices and organizations, especially the ZSL.

The ZSL unites 261,000 members in its ranks, of which 202,000 are farmers. The SD numbers 64,000 members, of which 68.6% belong to the intellectuals.

#### 4. Party.

After the 8th Plenary Session, ~~xxx~~ various changes for the better ~~xxx~~ can be observed, in order to return to the Leninist norms of living and working in the Party and to strengthen the bond between the Party and the masses. The independence and the responsibility of the local Party authorities and the basic organizations of the Party are developing to an increasing degree. The authority of the Party activists is growing and becoming more and more a supporting pillar for the various Party offices in the working out of plans and the realization of these plans.

The Party apparatus was reduced, namely, from 15,000 functionaries in 1956 to 8,300 functionaries in 1958, that is, about 45%. In addition, in the Party offices, "problems committees" have been created, which consist partly of members of the Party offices themselves and partly of Party activists. Also, a part of the employees of the Party apparatus is attached to the "problems committees" in order to take care of the work springing forth from these committees.

In order to be able to realize the directives of the Party policy, as these were mapped out at the 8th and 9th Plenary Sessions, the Party first had to build up its capability for this and had to become purged of all

opportunistis and demoralized elements. After the 20th Congress KPZR [~~CPSU?~~] there appeared in the Party dangerous tendencies of ideological chaos and political disorientation, chiefly because of the unhindered action of ~~xx~~ revisionist and dogmatic elements. The "verification" [checking, auditing, etc] in the Party ranks, which was decided upon on the basis of the directives of the 10th Plenary Session, has aided to an important degree the consolidating of the Party and has increased its authority among the masses. During the verification more than 200,000 Party members and candidates were removed from the Party. The majority of the dismissed members are persons who joined the Party because of opportunistic reasons, and therefore were not connected ideologically with the Party and were only a ballast. Among those who were removed were also revisionists and dogmatists, and persons who wanted to organize interest-groups. However, the largest group of the removed persons was formed by the opportunistic and demoralized elements. As a consequence of the verification, the activity and responsibility among the members has risen and the requirements for membership have been raised.

The most important tasks now confronting the Party are: a further consolidating of the ideological and organizational unity of the Party; consolidation of the leading role of the Party in every area of the political, social, and economic life; further development of the initiative and independence of the Party offices and organizations with respect to the solving of problems in their own field and the "realization" of the Party.

After the "fusion" [merger, etc] of the end of 1949, the PZPR numbered 1,347,135 members and candidate members. During the years 1949-1956 the Party organizations added an average of 83,000 new members per year. In 1957 the membership growth amounted to only about ~~25~~ 9,500 persons, and in the

first quarter of 1958 the number of candidates admitted to the Party ranks  
At?  
was 2,472. Before the beginning of the "verification" -- as of 1 Dec 1957 --  
the Party numbered 1,336,065 members and candidate members, of which  
512,340 were industrial workers (39.9%),  
61,560 " agricultural workers (4.8%),  
164,614 " farmers (12.8%),  
499,473 " white collar workers (38.9%),  
46,825 " others (3.6%).

After the "verification" -- as of 1 Apr 1958 -- the Party numbers 1,106,558  
members and candidate members. The composition of the Party (without the  
Army) is as follows:

398,146 - industrial workers (37.8%),  
51,630 - agricultural workers (4.9%),  
128,955 - farmers (12.2%),  
442,028 - white collar workers (42.1%),  
32,050 - others (3%).

##### 5. Youth Affairs.

After the crisis which arose in the ZMP and which could not be put down  
in time by the Party, the ZMP was dissolved. In its place were founded the  
Socialist Youth League ~~and the League of Rural Youth~~ (ZMS) and the League of Rural Youth  
(ZMW). Separately from these also arose the Polish Pathfinders League (ZHP).  
In order to coordinate the work of the youth organizations, the "Committee  
of Cooperation of Polish Youth Organizations" was called into being. This  
committee encompasses the ZMS, ZMW, ZHP, and the Polish Student Association.

The Socialist Youth League (ZMS) numbers 110,000 members. Workers comprise 62% of this organization, white collar workers 29%, and scholars and students 9%. About 80-90% of the ZMS members are former ZMP members, and almost all the former activists of the ZMP now have a seat in the leadership of the ZMS.

The most important task of the ZMS is the work among working youth. It has caused new production brigades to be set up in the industrial enterprises, and the number of these brigades has now risen above 700. On the initiative of the ZMS, 80 cooperatives have arisen which will be active in the field of by-production, living quarters construction, etc.

The ZMS gives leadership to more than 200 clubs in the field of culture and relaxation, to 3 sports associations, and to 4 workers' universities. During the summer months the ZMS organizes combination study-recreation camps (in the current year about 60 camps for 10,000 youths). The most difficult field of work for the ZMS are the high schools. The students' council which was set up in the KC ZMS first began its activities a short time ago. The work of the ZMS groups encompasses only 40 high schools, and the number of ZMS members for all high schools is ~~xxxx~~ 1,300.

The League of Rural Youth (ZMW) numbers 148,000 members, of which 45% are girls. Certain rightist circles of the ZSL attempted to get the rural youth in their grasp and to ~~organize~~ set up the "Wici" organization. During the most recent congress of the ZMW, however, the Party conception won a complete victory and there was an important majority of Party members elected to the main leadership. Also, in the district and provincial leaderships the members of the PZPR form the majority.

The ZMW develops activities in the field of culture and ~~education~~ "opvoeding" [bringing up, rearing, educating, etc.]. Out of a total of 9,000

have active stage, dance, and music "circles", more than 4,500/~~xxx~~ groups. The ZMW circles are also the managers of the recreation halls in rural areas. 8,000 youths underwent a schooling course at courses organized by the cultural and educational activists. Further, courses were organized for more than 5,000 youths in operating of motor vehicles, in sewing, cooking, etc. Four peoples' universities are ~~xxx~~ managed and operated by the ZMW. The ZMW has united about 35,000 youths in the "Przysposobienie Rolnicze" groupings.

The Polish Pathfinders League (ZHP) now numbers about 751,000 members, including 21,000 instructors. It encompasses children and youths from 8 - 18 years of age. A new phenomenon -- in comparison with the ~~xxx~~ pre-war period -- is the large number from the rural areas (57.5%). The leaders ~~xxx~~ corps consists mainly of teachers (62%). The "cadre" is composed of 20% Party members, 3% members of other parties, and 77% party-less persons.

Various changes have been carried out in the statutes recently, whereby the Headquarters can exercise stricter general leadership of the ZHP. The principle of "cadre responsibility" was inaugurated, and also the possibility opened of changes in the cadre being made by higher offices.

#### 6. The Relations between State and Church.

Concerning the relations between state and church, the period of 1949-1956 was characterized by hard struggle. The administrative measures which put limitations on the freedom of religious cults finally lead to a greater wave of religion. Fanaticism increased, and the ~~xxx~~ influence of the clergy in the lives of the believers was strengthened. These religious feelings were exploited on many sides by the clergy in the struggle against socialism and government by the people.

In the difficult and complicated period ~~xx~~ from 1956, the attitude toward religion and the church has played a role of the greatest significance. It was even decisive, because from the standpoint of the Party it depended on this whether or not ~~xx~~ an important part of the population would take a positive or negative attitude toward the peoples' government.

In this period we brought about a true change. The interned Cardinal Wyszynski was set free and a number of bishops were allowed to occupy their offices again. Religious instruction was again established as a subject in schools for those students whose parents made their wishes in this matter known in writing.

(Up till now religion was formally an obligatory subject in school, like all other subjects, but it was actually taught at only about 20% of the schools. Now, of the 28,000 schools there are 60 without religious instruction and in addition there are 700-900 schools in which actually no religious instruction is given for other reasons.)

Also, a change has been made in the regulations concerning the supervision of the state in the ~~xx~~ appointments to church offices, whereby influence in the less important posts has been relinquished. (Now, ~~xx~~ the approval of the state is required only for appointments to archbishop, bishop, and ~~xx~~ priest.)

The compromise which has come about is purely of a tactical and not of an ideological nature. In this way, it will lead the population in a more efficient manner than before toward a complete secularization.

What kind of results have been reached? As the most positive result must be considered the general conviction among the population that a normalization process in the relations between church and state has begun, that there exists

an actual freedom of religion and religious practice, and that the religious convictions of the citizens are being respected.

There is observable an obvious relaxation of the former tensions, and the fanatical spirit has calmed down. The possibilities of exploiting religious feelings in the political struggle have been decreased significantly because of this.

The relations between church and state have improved significantly. The church has assumed a positive attitude in the elections for the Sejm. Now, 11 Catholic representatives have seats in the Sejm, and in spite of all their criticism of various government proposals they still support the essential measures, namely, the budget and the economic leadership.

At the moment there reigns a much more favorable atmosphere for promoting secularization among the population. The exceptionally great interest which existed in the question of religious instruction is waning. The number of conflicts flowing out of this question has decreased considerably. The slow extinguishing of the passion which ~~xxx~~ flared up in the religious field and the decreasing of interest in religious affairs are making the clergy most uneasy, and they are now carrying out an intensive ~~xxx~~ devotion action in order to awaken and bring to bloom again the religious life.

The intensification of this devotion action, together with the obvious the cooling in the relationship between church and the state, appeared clearly after the visit of a delegation from the Polish episcopate to Rome. The church, true to the directives of Rome, attempts with all ~~its~~ means to win the position of ideological center among the population and also to become in the future the political center. ~~independence~~ The Catholic Church in Poland

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forms the most important center of reaction which exists among the population. Opposed to this striving of the church is the action we are promoting for furthering the deepening the secularization among the population, in order to create ~~xxxxxx~~ a favorable atmosphere of religious indifference.

The main points of the Party viewpoint in this action are these: freedom of religious practice for the citizen; avoiding of conflicts in this field; limitation of the "handelend optreden" action in a negotiating or other type of official capacity<sup>7</sup> of the church, especially in the political and social fields; promoting of secularization in the life of the population; and ideological offensives, among which must be counted propaganda in the atheistic field.

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